

LABOR UNITY

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Railwaymen Begin Drive To Restore 1920 Scale

Shopmen Lead Fight For Wage Raise

BY MORTON F. CRAWFORD

THE shopmen on the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railway have taken the lead in raising the demand, against the "established three cents", and for restoration of the 1920 scale. Everywhere there is discontent among the railroaders at the ridiculous "three cents" increase and there is the making of a powerful left wing movement among progressive elements to get back the wage cuts of recent years.

Using the plea of "poverty", the railway companies, who had the co-operation of the government and the all too willing union officials, succeeded since 1921-1922, in carrying out a whole series of wage cuts. Since the Shopmen's strike was lost by reason of a lack of a general strike—a strong movement for which was sidetracked by the union leaders—the unions retreated everywhere and the companies encountered little organized resistance.

An \$842,379,552 Wage Cut

Beginning with the mechanical trades, the wage cuts were passed on all classes, many losing as much as \$1.20 a day from their pay. How this benefited the companies and injured the standards of the men, may be seen, by the difference between the total wage bill of the railroads for 1920, which was \$3,742,486,936, as compared to the wage total paid in 1925, which was \$2,900,107,384, or a yearly reduction of wages of \$842,379,552.

Even the slightest examination into wages shows what low yearly wages hundreds of thousands of railroaders are getting. In 1925, 523,000 men averaged only \$1,200 for the year; over 400,000 got only about \$1,000; and 902,920 section laborers received a miserable \$877 for working all year. Such wages are far below the admitted level of health and decency for a family. Even the income of the highly skilled workers barely provides them and their families with the ordinary comforts of life.

Enormous Company Profits

Simultaneously with the wage cuts, the profits of the companies began to rise. Official figures show that each year has given the companies a bigger profit than the year before, as follows:

| | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1921 | \$ 600,937,356 |
| 1922 | 760,187,310 |
| 1923 | 961,955,457 |
| 1924 | 973,870,078 |
| 1925 | 1,136,984,234 |
| 1926 (estimate) | 1,250,000,000 |

The 1926 profits exceed all previous records. They are 12 per cent over 1925 and 100 per cent above 1921, when the wage cuts began.

These enormous profits have been made possible by the wage cuts on one hand and speeding up the workers on the other. Testimony at recent wage hearings show how much greater is the amount of work performed by each employe in the industry than in previous years. "Efficiency" methods, the B. and O. Plan, and all sorts of speed systems are being instituted in all depart-

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Progressives Rally to Save the Miners' Union

Lewis Uses Wholesale Fraud in Election

BY JACK LEE

THE United Mine Workers of America is witnessing wide revolt against corrupt rule. Mass meetings are held all over the fields. Tens of thousands of leaflets, stickers by the hundred thousand, bearing the names of anti-administration candidates, a left wing newspaper, *The Coal Miner*, all these trickle among the local unions, and are passed about by the members. For the first time in history, there is a widespread progressive movement, with some semblance of organization, and at least a general unity of purpose. All the literature scattered this year bears the following set of slogans, either in this form exactly, or paraphrased:

No wage cut—Organize the non-union fields—Honest elections—Democracy in the union—Clean out the Corruptionists—Abolish the operators' influence in the union—Nationalization of mines—Short term joint contract for bituminous and anthracite fields—No surrender of the check-off—Reinstatement with full rights of Howard and all others involved—Expel—Suppression of the formation of a labor party.

The miners' elections, international, and in most parts, district and subdistrict, have just been finished. Wherever honest reports are available, they show majority vote for progressive candidates, which in the international means Brophy for President, Stevenson for vice-president, and Brennan for secretary-treasurer. But Lewis will steal the election.

The Fight for this Convention

The fight now centers around the international and district conventions. Delegates are now being elected to them. The international convention meets January 25, and the Lewis machine has served notice that the votes in the international election will not be counted by that time.

This means that Lewis will not yet risk diminishing his prestige by any announcement of the bare-faced steal he is contemplating, but hopes to get the convention out of the way quietly, first. The two principal issues at the convention are expected to be the enforcement of a fair count in the international and district elections, and the coming bituminous agreement.

The Big Issue Ahead

The importance of the fight for the bituminous fields when the Jacksonville agreement expires next April, cannot be exaggerated. The operators are preparing to attack the union wage scale, on the plea that the low wages of the unorganized fields, mostly in the south, makes a wage cut necessary in the northern, unionized fields. This is the scheme of the big interests in the operators' association, with mines in both union and non-union fields, to open the way to further wage cuts in the unorganized fields, then in the organized, and keep seeing wages downward.

The life of the union is at stake in this, and to save itself the union

(Continued on page 5)

That Billion Dollar Dividend



New York.—Following news of the market's Christmas distribution of \$1,000,000,000 profits to stockholders, Wall street seized upon the news. Steel corporation's 40 per cent stock dividend, as the spark needed to set off the wildest demonstration ever witnessed on the stock exchange.

Corporation earnings for 1926 are going to make a remarkably good showing, says Monday's review. In many industries there has been a notable increase in operating efficiency and margins of profit.—From the Chicago Tribune.

Washington, D. C.—Employment in manufacturing industries was reduced 1.2 per cent in November as compared with October, and pay roll totals were reduced 3.2 per cent, according to statistics of the Department of Labor.—From the Chicago Tribune.

"Yesterday 300 families appealed for Christmas aid. One year ago only 150 families registered appeals. In some, a childish scrawl tells how—'Papa works in the stockyards and his wages of \$23 a week is not enough to keep us.'"—From the Chicago Tribune's Christmas charity publicity.

WHAT LABOR UNITY STANDS FOR

LABOR UNITY is an open forum for all left wing and progressive trade union groupings in the American labor movement.

LABOR UNITY advocates a program of aggressive trade unionism. It opposes class collaboration, whether openly initiated by the employers through company unions, or put in to practice by agreement of employers and trade union officials through "co-operation".

LABOR UNITY stands for the organization of the unorganized wage workers.

LABOR UNITY opposes dual unionism and secession movements.

LABOR UNITY advocates amalgamation of craft unions into strong industrial unions.

LABOR UNITY advocates the admission of all workers to trade unions, regardless of age, sex or race.

LABOR UNITY champions trade union unity, nationally and internationally.

LABOR UNITY advocates the formation of a Labor Party based upon the trade unions.

LABOR UNITY opposes corruption and gangsterism in the trade unions, and advocates democratic rule by the membership.

LABOR UNITY supports all struggles and organizations of the workers, economic, political and otherwise, which fight against the capitalist class.

LABOR UNITY advocates co-operation and agreement between all progressive groups in the labor movement for the above and other mutual aims.

The New War on Progress in the Trade Unions -- By Wm. Z. Foster

THE reactionary trade union leaders have begun a fresh campaign in their ceaseless war against progress in the labor movement. The keynote for the attack was sounded by President Green in the December *American Federationist*. Green, singling out the Communists as highly active leaders in the various progressive oppositional movements in the unions, demands their ruthless extermination. The other bureaucrats, following his lead, have begun a bitter attack against the left wing on all fronts, details of which shall be pointed out as we go along.

The basic causes of this unprecedented attack on the progressive forces in the unions are to be found in the position and interests of the employers. An important contributing factor in creating the somewhat hysterical atmosphere accompanying the attack, is the uncertainties and dangers for American capitalism at home and abroad.

Cause of Alarm

All Europe is organizing against the United States on the war debts and other issues; Germany and other countries are "rationalizing" their industries, which means more intense competition in the world markets; the Chinese situation is highly alarming; the British general strike was a great shock; the organization of the European Steel Trust is a menace.

At the home the prospects of continued prosperity grow more uncertain; the railroad workers are deeply discontented and are demanding wage increases; a great coal strike looms for next Spring. The union bureaucrats making the attack against the left wing in the unions reflect all the nervousness of interest of the employers in this situation.

Bureaucrats Surrender

Then there is the great urge of the employers for increased production. They are constantly introducing new and more effective speed-up systems. They also make war against strikes and all forms of militancy. The trade union leaders are in step with this movement. Until the defeat of the Railroad Shopmen in 1922, they made some show of fighting the bosses. But now, convinced that the employers are too strong to resist, they have surrendered to them altogether and become their agents.

With their B. & O. Plans, trade union capitalism, Watson-Parker Laws, and similar schemes, they are company-unionizing the trade unions and turning them into agencies to speed up production. It is significant that in the same issue of the *Federationist* that declared open war on the Communists, Green also had another article openly proposing to turn the trade unions into company unions.

The bureaucrats have in mind, in this process, primarily their own interests as a group. They abandon the interests of the workers. But all does not go smoothly for them. The workers, especially the unskilled and semi-skilled, demand a struggle against the employers. Serious revolts take place amongst them, and even in the ranks of the trade union bureaucracy.

Membership Revolt

The rank and file upheavals have become especially significant in the last two years. The left wing of the New York Furriers captured the local Joint Board. The same thing happened in the New York Joint Board of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. In the Machinists' Union the combined progressive elements defeated Johnson. In many sections of the Carpenters (Detroit, Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia) deep-going

oppositional movements developed.

The historic Passaic strike was a challenge and a threat to the whole system of present-day trade union leadership. The left-led New York Furriers' strike resulted not only in a victory that made the 40-hour week a real issue, but also in a sharp personal defeat for President Green. In the ranks of the upper bureaucracy itself a split occurred over the question of the recognition of the Soviet Union and steps



Wm. Z. FOSTER

were taken, in spite of official opposition, to send a Trade Union Delegation to Soviet Russia. Meanwhile, the New York Clockmakers embarked upon their historical strike.

The Campaign of Reaction

The reactionary trade union leaders become genuinely alarmed at all these developments. Their policy of company-unionizing the trade unions and subjugating them to the employers was threatened. Their position as leaders of the unions was endangered. Something had to be done. Hence, the A. F. of L. Executive Council at its meeting just prior to the recent convention, made it a special order of business to develop a new war against the left wing.

Several specific actions were taken. Among them were a ruthless condemnation of the Passaic strike, a categorical repudiation of the proposed delegation to Soviet Russia, and the appointment of a special committee to investigate the Fur Workers' strike for the purpose of discrediting its leadership and cleaning the soiled skirts of President Green.

The Miners' Struggle

Meanwhile, a big upheaval was developing amongst the miners. Incensed and aroused by the treachery and terrorism of Lewis, and seeing their union rapidly going to pieces, the progressive forces among the miners organized themselves, under the leadership of Brophy and with the slogan of "Save the Union," for a struggle against the Lewis machine in the elections in the district and national conventions, and in the approaching bituminous strike. The great mass of the miners support this movement.

The upheaval among the miners galvanized the reactionaries into action. It was a blow at their very citadel. It threatened the defeat of a vital section of their machine, the spreading of the fight to other parts of the labor movement, the repudiation of their class collaboration by the development of a militant strike among the coal miners next spring. They determined upon a war to the knife against the left wing.

The reactionaries struck their first big blow during the A. F. of L. Convention. Never in any American labor convention has there been such a wild campaign of "red-baiting." Wilson, Fry, Furuseth, Walker, Lewis, and Green flamed against the left. The occasion was a committee report condemning the recognition of Soviet Russia and the sending of a Trade Union Delegation.

But the center of the attack was against the left oppositional movement, especially in the Miners' Union. The piece de resistance was the Coyle letter. Left wing activities in the needle trades, Passaic, and elsewhere were hardly mentioned in this attack. The fight turned around the heart of the American trade union movement, the United Mine Workers.

Fascist Methods Appear

Since the convention the reactionaries have developed the fight on many fronts. In the December *American Federationist*, Green calls for a general attack upon the left wing. Sigman, President of the I. L. G. W., took this cue and illegally seized control of the Clockmakers' Strike and removed from office the regularly elected trade union officials of the New York Joint Board and its affiliated unions, an action that suspends some 50,000 workers and splits the union.

In the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Hillman-Breckman machine has intensified its campaign of expulsions and terrorism. Meanwhile preparations are being made, under A. F. of L. supervision, to deal a blow at the Furriers' New York Joint Board. Throughout the needle industry the officials of the unions are rapidly developing genuine fascist tactics; smashing up left wing meetings, blacklisting workers, etc. They are determined to force upon the unions the company-unionization process insisted upon by the employers.

On Many Fronts

In other unions and industries the attack also proceeds apace. Lewis has stolen the election in the Miners' Union by wholesale frauds, and is now preparing to terrorize the approaching convention of the Miners' Union. In the Machinists' Union, Wharton, the new president, is supporting the expulsion policy and the reactionary policies of Dist. 8, Chicago, announcing that they will put it into effect.

In New York the Socialist leaders of the trade unions have organized "The Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions," whose avowed purpose it is to drive the left progressive elements from the unions. It proposes to carry out a national campaign on this basis.

Progress Cannot Be Crushed

But this bitter attack will not succeed in crushing the forces of progress in the unions. The company-unionization of the trade unions by the speed-up of the workers, the abandonment of an active strike policy, and the transformation of the leaders into an American brand of fascists, constitutes an abandonment of the workers' interests which they will not brook. They will find ways and means to register their resistance against these policies and to put into effect a real struggle against the employers.

The expulsion policy, which the bureaucrats are now threatening so loudly to put into effect on a wholesale scale, will prove futile. It failed utterly in the needle trades, Machinists, Carpenters, and other

A Dual Unionist Reports -- Repents

Their Great Drive Got Them No Members

RECENTLY an election and construction of the General Construction Workers' Industrial Union, No. 319, and the Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union, No. 330 of the I. W. W., ended the term of E. W. Latham as secretary-treasurer of the latter "industrial union," which averaged 500 members during its last year, ending September 30, 1926. Fellow Worker Latham submitted an extensive report, telling the whole story of what the matter with the I. W. W. in general and the Building Workers' I. U. 330 in particular. In part the report says:

"Our only attempt or pretense at an organization drive in the building industry was during 1925, when we tried to use the situation within the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union, as an entering wedge, for the purpose of spreading I. W. W. propaganda and organization among the building trade unionists.

"In this campaign, was spent the sum of \$1,411.92, and the only returns to date was the total of \$81.50 in cash, which was remitted by the organizer in New York. Of the 25 new members initiated, only two have paid dues the second time and none the third. Five organizers were sent out."

As to what to do about it, Latham recommends a course of action that verges near, if it does not wholly accept the policy of the T. U. E. L., which the I. W. W. has always termed in depreciation, the policy of "boring from within." He says:

"For some time to come, the I. W. W. in the building industry, cannot expect to be more than an agitational and propaganda body, except in a few isolated places. Therefore, we must so conduct ourselves that our enemies cannot isolate and detach us from direct contact with the workers, both inside and outside the craft unions."

THE principal farm crops of the U. S. A. in 1925 represented a decline in total value of \$1,148,000,000 from the same crops in 1925, the chief declines being in cotton and corn. There is an 8.4 per cent loss in grain production. This reflects the continued agrarian crisis.

unions. Nowhere was it more ruthlessly applied than in the Miners' Union. Left wingers were expelled on all sides. No doubt Lewis thought he had gotten rid of them completely. Yet now see the big opposition movement he has to confront. The urge for progress and an aggressive defense of the workers' interests will find expression in spite of every attempt of the reactionary leadership to suppress it.

The Effective Answer

The answer to the present war against progress in the unions is an intensification of our work in every union. The left wing and progressive elements must unite more firmly than ever for a militant strike policy, for the organization of the unorganized, for the amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial organizations, for the labor party, and for the democratization of the trade unions. If this is done intelligently and persistently the present attack against the forces of progress in the unions will shatter itself in the vain effort to hold back the rising tide.

Botany Surrenders

By John J. Ballam

Secretary, National Progressive Textile Workers' Committee

THE heroic and determined textile workers of Passaic, New Jersey, have just won a signal victory in the most stubbornly fought and longest strike in the history of the textile industry. The now famous Passaic strike has lasted from snow to snow. They struck last January, 1926, walking out of the great mills of the Botany Consolidated Company, Inc. against a ten per cent wage cut; they got back in December, 1926 with the ten per cent restored and a five per cent increase in many departments. This applies to the 6,000 Botany mill workers.

They streamed out nearly a year ago, an unorganized mass; they return today, a disciplined, organized section of the labor movement—a local of the United Textile Workers of America affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Gus Is Back!

In January 1926 a committee of the Botany workers, headed by Gustav Deak, filed into the office of the Botany Worsteds Mill to demand a restoration of the 10 per cent wage-out. The proud and tyrannical textile bosses literally threw the committee and Gus Deak out of their office. Today, Gus Deak is the President of the U. T. W. local in Passaic and the mighty textile corporation employing many thousands of workers is compelled to bow before the organized might of their workers and to recognize the union of which Gus Deak is now the head.

Before last January these arrogant mill owners of Passaic refused to deal with their workers and treated them like serfs. Today they recognize the right of collective bargaining and agree to settle grievances through the union's committees.

The mill owners have further agreed to take back all their striking workers without discrimination and not to employ any outside help until all their striking workers are taken back. They agree to submit all the other minor demands of the strikers to arbitration.

These are the outstanding features of the Botany settlement.

Weapons the Bosses Used

Behind this victory there is a history of nearly eleven months of struggle. Every weapon in the arsenal of capitalist oppression was used against these workers to defeat and divide them. Streams of hot and cold water were played upon the mass picket lines by the fire-department of Passaic; mounted police rode down women and children and patrolmen sought to elude the strikers into submission; gas bombs were hurled by the police to terrify and disperse the strikers.

The riot act was invoked by the sheriffs and armed deputies patrolled the strike area; injunctions against the strikers were granted by the mill-owned judges and the strikers' halls were closed; strike-breakers and armed thugs were imported; newspaper reporters were driven out of Passaic and their cameras smashed; a citizens' vigilante committee was organized to drive the leaders out of town; high-priced detectives and agents provocateurs were used to frame-up the leaders; priests and ministers of the gospel threatened the strikers with hell-fire and damnation.

Seven Hundred Strikers Jailed

The local press was used to poison the minds of the community against the strike and its leadership; mayors, sheriffs and the Governor of the State of New Jersey denounced the strikers; over seven hundred strikers were arrested, fined or thrown into jail; bomb cases were framed-up and the picket captains held in over half a million dollars bail; patriotism, religion,

racial prejudices were played upon to divide the strikers' ranks; every form of fraud and force was used to drive these textile workers of Passaic back into the mills. Through it all the strikers stood firm.

Defense and Counter-Attack

Against the gas bombs they put on gas masks and manned the picket lines; they broke the injunctions; they published their own paper; they forced their priests to line up for the strike; they exposed the schemes of the detectives and laughed them out of Passaic; they went to jail with songs of victory.

shadowed by the fear of meeting a communist-strike leader. The mill owners had raised the issue of "reds and communism" in order to try to divide the workers and break the strike. The mill owners refused to meet Weisbord and were joined by Mr. McMahon.

Then Mr. Hilfers, New Jersey state organizer of the A. F. of L., came out and denounced the strike, saying that the strike was lost and the workers should go back to the mills.

Albert Weisbord, the young strike leader, was working in close cooperation with a corps of experi-

enced more about the policies and tactics of the reactionary leaders of the labor movement in a few months than many workers find out in years. The textile strikers discussed the A. F. of L. reply in mass meeting and came to differentiate between progressive, militant trade unionism and the class collaborationist policies of Woll, Green, McMahon and their like.

The leadership of the Passaic strike then proceeded to literally "break" into the U. T. W. and the A. F. of L. What right had McMahon and Green to keep these splendid fighters for trade unionism out of the regular labor movement? A Plenary Committee for Settlement and Affiliation was elected by the strikers in mass meeting. Pressure was brought to bear on the bureaucrats. The Passaic strike was in itself a challenge to them. They yielded—on one condition—that Albert Weisbord withdraw.

Tried to Behold the Strike

This was a form of the right-wing's infamous expulsion policy. It was also another strike-breaking move on their part. Both the mill owners and their labor lieutenants calculated that if the strike leader was withdrawn the strike would collapse. The left-wing leadership of the strike advised young Weisbord to retire. Our first objective was to WIN THE STRIKE. Our second objective was to throw the influence and experience of Passaic into the organized labor movement, and make its vivid class struggle lessons a part of the tradition of the A. F. of L.

Weisbord withdrew. Passaic was affiliated to the U. T. W. The strike did not collapse. The U. T. W. officials waited for six long weeks before they even sent Mr. Starr in. The strike was carried on by the left-wing leaders who remained in control of the whole strike machinery during this difficult maneuver, and have since led the Passaic strike to VICTORY.

"Mopping Up"

Although we have broken the back-bone of the mill-owners' resistance the Passaic strike is still on against the Forstmann-Huffman Mills, The Gera Mills, The N. J. Spinning Co. and the Dundee Textile Co. We expect to force two more of these to settle soon. But every struck mill must settle with the Union. The fight goes on to a finish. (The Dundee mills have since settled.—Ed.)

Dirt Farmers Meet

A CONTINUED depression in agricultural economy as reflected by a falling off of 8.4 per cent in the 1926 grain crop, along with the deep going crisis in cotton—a total crop reduction of \$1,148,000,000 since 1925—is probably responsible for the discontent among the farmers which is taking political expression.

But this expression is taking two basically different directions. In the case of such "farmers" as are typified by Frank Lowden, with enormous land holdings on which they do not labor but hire labor or rent, the capitalist farmers found their expression at the Chicago conference of the American Farm Bureau federation, with a capitalist program demanding only that private monopoly in agriculture have the same capitalist "rights" as industrial monopoly, and leaving the rural the multi-millionaire as their prophet.

In Minneapolis, on the other hand, the real "dirt farmers" of the land-lord-ridden and mortgaged farms, held a delegate conference of the Progressive Farmers of America, declared for the nationalization of all monopolies, called for a solid battle line of all producers against all exploiters.

EVERY militant and progressive in the labor movement should study and profit by the rich experiences of the Passaic textile strike.

This strike is the present high water mark in the campaign to organize the unorganized masses into the American labor movement, and it shows:

(1) That the twenty million unorganized workers in this country understand the need for trade union organization and will carry on a militant struggle for the right to organize.

(2) That these unorganized workers will join the regular trade unions and will become its most loyal and militant elements.

(3) That these workers in the big machine industries, such as textile, rubber, chemical, steel, automotive, metal and machinery, etc., will bring new life and energy into the A. F. of L. and compel the present leadership to either change their policy of class collaboration or to retire.

(4) That the organization of the unorganized into the regular trade unions will hasten the process of amalgamating these weak and divided craft unions into powerful industrial unions and will transform them into militant organs of class struggle.

(5) That the great masses of the American working class are ready to follow a militant trade union leadership on a class struggle program and to resist wage-cuts, speeding-up and efficiency processes, unsanitary conditions and long hours which are prevalent in the mills, mines, factories and sweat-shops of this country.

(6) That it is the duty of every trade union militant to raise the slogan of, ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED in every trade union and in every industry in this country.

on their lips and met the police with shouts of defiance; they boycotted and ridiculed the "citizens' vigilante committee" out of existence; they organized one of the greatest defense, relief and publicity machinery ever set up in any strike in America; they turned every move against them to their own advantage and out-manoeuvred the mill owners in every stage of the fight.

In short the Passaic textile strikers have given the labor movement of America a most splendid example of courage, determination and solidarity.

Trade Union Unity

But, joined with their splendid fighting spirit, the militant leaders of the strike from the beginning focussed the attention of the textile workers on the meaning of trade union unity. The Passaic strikers were convinced not only that they should organize and fight for their own union, but that they must join the broad stream of the American labor movement and affiliate it within the American Federation of Labor. They had set up their strike machinery and called it "The United Front Committee of Passaic and Vicinity."

Then they opened up negotiation with the Federal Textile Unions and with the United Textile Workers of America. A letter was sent to Mr. Thomas F. McMahon, President of the U. T. W., asking him to appoint a committee to meet a committee of the strikers to arrange for affiliation to the U. T. W. President McMahon's reaction was characteristic. He refused to meet Albert Weisbord, the strike leader, because the mill owners and their agents had previously accused Weisbord of being a communist.

Bureaucrats Aid Mill Owners

The struggle of the exploited textile workers of Passaic to organize meant nothing to the president of the United Textile Workers. The opportunity to affiliate 16,000 textile workers to his union was over-

ruled trade union militants and trained left wing leaders who knew exactly what to expect from the reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. A whole series of maneuvers were then executed to bring the healthful and militant influence of Passaic into the labor movement and to prevent it from being dissipated and isolated, or to follow the dangerous course of dual unionism which has so long been the curse of the textile industry and the American labor movement generally.

An appeal was sent from Passaic to the president of the A. F. of L. Mr. William Green, asking him to use his influence to affiliate the Passaic textile workers to the U. T. W.

Official Strike Breaking

Again we received a characteristic reply. This time in the form of a public declaration by the executive council of the A. F. of L., which was printed in the whole capitalist press and was made the basis for the strike-breaking activities of the Passaic Citizens' Committee.

The executive council denounced the Passaic strike as unprincipled and ill-advised; declared it to be a communist enterprise; branded the "United Front Committee" as a dual union; insinuated that strike relief funds were being misused and called upon all and sundry not to contribute.

This disruptive, strike-breaking document was resented by every decent trade unionist in the country. Passaic answered calmly and without passion. This time we did not ask, we demanded, affiliation to the A. F. of L. and publicly declared that the executive council of the A. F. of L. did not represent either the sentiments of the great majority of its rank and file or the best interests of the labor movement.

Strikers Learn Something

The Passaic strikers were not only gaining valuable experience in strike strategy and reasons in the class struggle but under the direction and instruction of their leaders they

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Editorials

Unions should bar no worker because of age, sex, or race.

A POLITICAL SHELL GAME

THE decision of the U. S. supreme court in the *Dorchy* case, that there is no such thing as a "right to strike", and Coolidge's message to congress, wherein it is intimated that—in view of the likelihood of a coal strike next Spring—a law should be passed specifically forbidding strikes, ought to arouse trade unionists to the fact that the government is run by the enemies of labor.

But the question is not solved by taking one enemy out and putting another one in. This, however, seems to be the only remedy recommended by the trade union officialdom, with its pretended "non-partisan" program of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies".

Yet the trade union journals have been filled with joyous warbles at the "victories" for labor in the elections during which labor supported such capitalist politicians as Governor Al Smith of Tammany Hall.

Why any worker or workers' organization should support Al Smith is beyond us, in view of the fact that he tried to force compulsory arbitration on the 40,000 striking cloakmakers in New York City and followed that up with a Tammany Hall judge's injunction that sent literally thousands of strikers to jail. A fine "friend" whose election labor supported and crows over!

The same applies to republican and democratic politicians in other states. Neither of these parties are controlled by labor nor are their candidates. The only way for labor to get or maintain any power in government is by and through a party of its own. For this reason we stand for a Labor Party, based upon the trade unions. Labor should have its own ticket in the next election.

BREAK THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

THE A. F. of L. News Service sheet of November 20, ran, under the headline—"Several Thousand Cloakmakers Win; Get Higher Wage and 40-Hour Week"—a story filled with approval of the settlement secured by the left wing leadership with the Industrial Council, Mr. Green's news sheet even omitting criticism on those points the left wing states were partial defeats.

But the same sheet from Mr. Green's headquarters dated December 11, copies almost word for word from the New York Times in an attack on the left wing, based on the settlement, quoting Sigman's accusations of "incompetence and blundering" in the strike.

Alongside, a signed article by Mr. Green is run, attacking the "Communists"—a term applied by labor bureaucrats to all and sundry who stand for progressive policies and oppose class collaboration.

Green openly states that such progressives should be expelled.

The change of front by Green, which leads him to advocate expulsion of a leadership he admitted three weeks before had won a strike, came at the time the right wing in the needle trades unions made an alliance with the bosses, opened gang war on the left wing and openly started strike-breaking, removing left wing Joint Board officials and turning the remaining strikers over to arbitrators known hostile to strike demands.

A part of this war was a so-called Conference for Preservation of the Trade Unions, held December 21 in New York City, which turned out to be a conference for the preservation of discredited leaders, by discredited leaders, who have no following except treasury-paid gangsters, the police, the bosses and the capitalist press. The membership showed where it stands when three days before it packed Madison Square Garden in support of the left wing. And it will break this unholy alliance of bosses, bureaucrats and police.

The United States has not recognized the Soviet government for the same reason an open shopper don't recognize a trade union. And for the same reason, Labor should demand that the U. S. recognize the Soviet government.

The capitalists who invest billions in foreign countries and oppress foreign workers, got that money by exploiting American workers. Labor in the U. S. A., allied with those oppressed peoples, can put a stop to such robbery at home and abroad.

THE MINERS' CONVENTION

THE United Mine Worker's officials entered a petition before the Illinois commerce commission supporting the petition of the Western United Gas company, supplying several Illinois cities, to permit the company to furnish gas users with gas of lower heating power. The Illinois coal operators also entered a similar petition to aid the company.

The excuse given by the union officials for this collaboration with capitalists is that poorer gas can be made with union coal from Illinois while high heating gas is made from coal from the east where much of it is dug under non-union control.

Firstly, this is ineffective to aid the union, as the union must rely on control of production rather than consumption. Nor does it explain why 68 per cent of coal is dug by non-union miners. The answer is that the John L. Lewis administration has not only failed to organize the unorganized fields, but has ruined and lost districts that were previously unionized. If all were unionized, there would be no loss to the union, regardless of what coal gas companies might use.

This criminal destruction of the miners' union, the failure to organize unorganized fields and the program of helping the owners to speed up the miners where the union is organized, is the reason the miners have turned their hopes to the candidates of the progressives whom Lewis now hopes to count out.

It is vital to the union that the progressives compel Lewis to give the members what they are entitled to—a tabulated record of their votes in the election, and by doing so they can come to the convention on January 25 with a demand that Lewis cease his pretensions to the presidency. By a stubborn fight only can they do this, but this is the only way to dislodge Lewis and save the miners' union.

Send in a dollar bill with your address and get LABOR UNITY for one year.

THE CHICKENS COME HOME TO ROOST

THE old hen, to which for the moment we liken the officialdom of the railroad unions, has hatched out some Watson-Parker Law eggs with results which seem to have surprised the whole barnyard.

After a long silent night of doing nothing, the officialdom called the Railway Employees' convention to celebrate the "victory" of the law, and the A. F. of L. convention boasted that it set out in "unmistakeable language" the right to collective bargaining.

However "unmistakeable" it seemed to the union officials, there are conferencees now going on to determine just what this language means. It seems that, to the companies, "voluntary collective bargaining" means company unions.

The law itself says that no "interference or influence" shall be used by one side in the choice of representatives of the other. But the companies can and are bringing forward a host of lick-spittle employees who testify that their company union is, formally at least, free from "interference or influence" of the companies in their choice of representatives and therefore entitled to negotiate with the companies with equal or maybe more right as the real labor unions have.

The Watson-Parker Law was cooked up by the officials and managers behind the backs of the railroad union membership. It has just given the conductors and trainmen a seven per cent rate raise instead of the 20 percent they asked from the enormously profitable companies. It is now due to establish company unionism in the shops, or turn the regular unions into company unions.

When the stupidity or worse of their officials dawns upon the railroad unionists, there will be a storm of revolt which, if properly organized in a left wing movement, will sweep away the law and those who sponsored it.

Trade Union Unity, nationally and internationally, will give Labor power it now lacks.

HOW TO CURE FRAME-UPS

IF a frame-up would occur in Europe, such as those which keep Sacco and Vanzetti in the shadow of death, which for ten years and more has buried Tom Mooney and Warren Billings in a living hell, which has held the Centralla-lumber-workers in Walla Walla prison, and which has sent scores of I. W. W. men to San Quentin merely for carrying the I. W. W. card—if, we say, would such frame-ups occur in almost any European-capitalist country, there would have to be martial law declared to hold back the indignant workers from open revolt.

The American frame-up against militant workers has gotten a fame that is known around the world—except in the United States itself. Here, the frame-up is taken as a part of natural phenomena, and no effort is made by the labor officials to stir up mass protest. And these, for the most part, think their duty is done by passing a resolution at conventions "requesting justice" for imprisoned fighters for labor.

The fight to free all class war prisoners must be one uniting and stirring the broadest masses. It must be one of vigor and persistence, and be based on the class justice of the workers, just as their imprisonment is based on the class justice of the capitalists. By class unity and class struggle the frame-up can be beaten and its victims freed.

Democratic rule of the unions by the membership will clean out corruption and gangsterism, which are useless and harmful.

Miners Rally to Aid Of Progressive Bloc

(Continued from page 1)

must fight to maintain the scale in the organized districts, and to raise the scale of the now unorganized miners by organization. It must demand and secure the check-off in the unorganized fields and bring all miners under a short-term, national agreement with no wage cuts attached to it.

The miner is a militant and stoical individual. He is capable of intense heroism during strikes or other crises—Herrin and the Mingo marchers show his readiness to battle with whatever weapons are necessary, and his dangerous life underground makes him more reckless of personal danger above ground than the average worker.

Stealing Elections

But this same impassiveness permits machine and gang control by corrupt officials in a greater degree than in any other organization of semi-skilled workers.

Here is an example: Local 1672, Grassy Island, Pa., has about 8,000 dues paying members, in a locality in which 13,000 miners work. In the election this year 153 votes were cast for International president, and the Lewis machine was defeated three to one. Formerly, the machine officials of this local were in the habit of casting the entire 8,000 votes themselves; they just filled in the return sheets according to fancy and the votes were counted for Lewis.

When the election comes around in a progressive local, the vote is frequently killed by sabotage on the part of some reactionary official. The international, district and sub-district constitutions abound in "red tape" provisions, which if not complied with will void the vote. Votes are never voided if they are for the machine, but the progressives are held to the letter of the law.

Arbitrary Expulsions

If all else fails, if a progressive is elected to a key position, he can simply be expelled by decree of some higher body. In this election, the hero of the rank and file, Alex Howat, was arbitrarily thrown off the Kansas ballot, and all locals who nominated him for that office were as arbitrarily denied the privilege of voting in the election, by a telegraphic order from President Lewis. To Lewis' own group, in control of offices in the Kansas district since its "reorganization" by Lewis, after Howat's expulsion without trial several years ago, Howat is allowed to come back in the union and mine coal now, but there his privileges end.

It is in such an atmosphere as this then, among men accustomed to this sort of machine control, that the present revolt is taking place. It is evident that in order to explain a mass uprising under these circumstances, we must look for some very powerful factor, operating so directly on the individual members as to force large numbers of them to the same conclusion.

Lewis' Destructive Role

That factor is the collapse of the union itself all along its outlying edges, where unionized territory borders non-union territory; so that 200,000 members have been lost within the last three years. And part of it is the condition that causes the collapse, the shifting of coal production to non-union territory, so that now two thirds of the soft coal mined in America comes from non-union mines which Lewis makes no attempt to organize.

And the result of both these movements is that there was terrible unemployment throughout the union fields, until the British strike and the threat of an American strike next April brought about increased production in American mines late in the Fall.

The Needle Trades, a Center of Struggle

BY JOSEPH ZACK, Secretary, Needle Trades Section, T. U. E. L.

THE eyes of the labor movement are now focused on the Needle Trades unions. These unions of "foreigners" in the past were looked upon as a sort of intrusion on the bona fide labor movement that had to be tolerated for the sake of a correct official policy. These "Jews", "Dagoes", "Polacks", etc., are now the prized objective of the entire reactionary officialdom of the A. F. of L. How did this come about?

The organized Left Wing, that flexible, well-organized "invisible combination of active militants inside the unions, pushed out the old degenerated bureaucracy, and transformed these organizations into militant organs of struggle against the employers.

One Year's Results

Within one year after assumption of control by the Left Wing, the 40-hour week was established in collective agreements affecting over 60,000 workers, wage increases were obtained of from 10 to 25 per cent, and the days of buying union officials, of graft and corruption were gone. Instead of sleepy, slow, corrupt unions, a new giant was walking through the factories, not afraid to fight and intent upon strengthening all needle unions by amalgamation.

All the old gang of soft job holders in the A. F. of L. were struck dumb with horror.

The readers of LABOR UNITY probably recall how William Green and H. C. Frayne, the latter the New York representative of the A. F. of L., interfered in the strike of the New York Furriers and attempted to settle it over the heads of the Furriers' strike committee on terms worse than the ones the bosses were ready to grant.

Had they succeeded, they would have "re-organized" the Furriers' union, and by this expelled the Left Wing. But they suffered a severe and decisive defeat, and the Furriers

Another result is that conditions in the union fields are, by co-operation of reactionary officials, allowed to grow worse; the companies arrogantly defy the union, refuse to allow organizers on their property, as at the Hudson Coal Company properties in the anthracite, or refuse "pay for dead work", demand higher loading of cars (with coal that falls off and brings no money to the miner), decline to keep the safety laws, and continually increase the scope of coal cutting and coal loading machines so as to throw men out of work.

Even in solidly organized Illinois, numerous companies have closed down for long periods, and then reopened on the basis of no payment of back wages, or only partial payment, through some stock selling scheme or fake "quarantine" arrangement. The Deyvaux mine, near Springfield, is a typical case. It reopened recently, with a month's back pay due the workers, which it proposes to liquidate under a scheme which will take it over three years to accomplish.

The Miners Must Fight

It is this growing arrogance of the mine owner, the constant crumbling of the edges of the unionized territory, the constant relative decrease in production in union fields, and the knowledge that next April a desperate strike will probably be initiated, with odds against the union, and treacherous officials leading it, that makes the miner wild. At last he is beginning to listen to the progressives, who have urged him all along to clean out the corruptionists and organize the unorganized fields. The miners will demand a fair count of their votes, which, if obtained, will surely show that the progressives were elected.

ors got the 40-hour week and a large increase of wages; in spite of the encouragement the bosses got from the president of the A. F. of L.

They "Investigate" a Victory

The workers understood the game and Mr. Green could not break that strike, though it was a long strike due to his efforts. After the strike was won, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. staged an "investigation" of it, with the purpose of renewing the attack on the Furriers' union at an opportune time, which the council may think fitting at any moment.

We thought that from their defeat in the Furriers' union, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and their friends among the so-called "socialist" leaders, had learned how not to break strikes in the needle trades. But now we see they did not.

Wolves in Sheep's Clothing

When the New York Cloakmakers' strike started, the right wing leaders gave themselves an honest appearance, although they said they were willing to settle without the 40-hour week, with but a slight increase in wages, and to concede to the bosses the right to discharge 10 per cent of their workers in order to increase the efficiency of production as recommended by a commission appointed by Governor Al Smith at their request. When this proposal of theirs was rejected by the general strike committee, they spoke in the strike halls aggressively for all demands.

Outwardly, the appearance was given as if the union was united and had the support of the A. F. of L. Even the Left Wing was to some extent fooled by this ploy. The reactionaries were given control of several strategic committees and they were well represented in all other committees.

Secret Betrayal

Soon, however, it was apparent that they were working secretly with the bosses. The employers knew what was going on in the closed circles of the union. They knew the amount of money on hand. They knew the secret minimum terms on which the union committee was ready to settle. Any secret or unofficial approval of important terms to settlement, was immediately divulged to the Employers' association.

The Law Committee and the Out-of-Town Committee in control of the right-wingers, Upped off the scab shops ahead of visits of the Picket Committee. At the investigation of International President Sigmund, the governor of the state of New York was gotten to try to compel the union to submit to compulsory arbitration. The right wing managers encouraged their members to scab and right wing unions were lined off not to support the Relief Committee.

Masses Break Injunction

When the union did not submit to the compulsory arbitration proposed through the governor, one of the most extensive and drastic injunctions in the history of the industry suddenly appeared to protect scabs, as a result of which thousands of pickets were arrested and hauled into court. For the union decided rightly that the injunction should be defied.

Several times the employers were ready to settle, but each time the right wing officials prevented the settlement by telling the employers through their secret connections not to settle. They accommodated the bosses by helping them have work done in union shops outside of New York.

Victory Despite All

Despite all this, the union under left wing leadership forced the em-

ployers to settle on terms far better than the right wing promised to settle on at the beginning of the strike. The new agreement includes the 40-hour week, wage increases of from 10 to 20 per cent, and even on the point of the employers' right to 10 per cent discharge, upon which the union had to yield, it obtained important safeguards and restrictions such as a minimum of 32 weeks' wages per year and no discharge for union activity, etc.

The right wing and the capitalist press allied with it, howled that this was a defeat, but the workers understood the game and knew that under the circumstances it was a victory.

The workers approved the settlement almost unanimously. This got the right wing officials mad. It is known that Matthew Wolf, Thomas McMahon, Morris Sigman and John L. Lewis, had a meeting at which it was decided to break up the whole thing. There were 8,000 workers for contractors still on strike. Sigman, the International President, got the Contractors' association to threaten a lockout if the union did not submit to their ultimatum. The union did not submit. The lockout was smashed, and the contractors did the submitting.

Disruption Becomes Open

Sigman now played his ace. He suspended the strike committee. He suspended the Joint Board and the executives of the left wing locals comprising the majority of the membership of the International. He did this without charges, without trials, and appointed a new strike committee pledged in advance to arbitration, appointed new executive boards, and appointed himself as strike leader.

All this was done on the pretense that the strike was illegal, although he himself and his vice-president were members of the leading strike committees, although the General Executive Board controlled by him had approved of the strike, and the A. F. of L. convention itself had endorsed the strike.

A Fascist Program

Sigman counts on the workers' submission because they have been starved for five months of strike. He counts on the 300 gangsters he has mobilized from the underworld. He counts on their protection by the police in gang violence against the Left Wing. He counts on the backing of the whole trade union bureaucracy. He counts upon the government, federal and state, to imprison and deport left wingers. He counts upon support of the open-shop employers, who, like himself, raise the false issue of "Communism" and "reds" against any militant unionism.

By these measures, and by his turning from the workers to call upon the community at large for such class struggle, Sigman has shown himself blood-brother to the leaders of fascism.

The Membership Stands Firm

The conference Sigman called of the self-styled "Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions" is but a mask for disruption and splitting of the unions which the workers will not permit him to rule and betray. Moreover, Sigman and other right wing needle union leaders, intend to prevent amalgamation, these unions' first necessity.

That the workers will not permit either disruption or betrayal was shown on December 16, when 18,000 of the membership poured into Madison Square Garden, unanimously adopted a resolution condemning Sigman and his strike-breaking demands, he resign, declared they would not be terrorized, but would support their legally elected left wing officials and would eliminate fascist elements and repel all attacks on their union.

The British Miners' Defiant Retreat By Robert Evans

THE British miners' strike is beaten, but the British miners are not beaten, for workers of their magnificent indomitable spirit—conceded defeat only to re-form their ranks and renew the battle.

More exactly, the strike and the strikers have been betrayed, for the record of their struggle for seven months is a history of continuous treachery by the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress, including every member of the Council, from J. H. Thomas on the right to Hicks and Purcell of the so-called "left." Moreover, it is an indictment against the weakness of the Miners' Federation leaders themselves.

The last word of the rank and file, whose marvelous courage sustained them through the most heart-breaking privation and held them rockstrong against employers, government and all classes of misleaders, was their vote in mid-November, by 147,600 majority, to reject the ultimatum of the Baldwin government, the terms of which meant district agreements, longer hours and lower wages.

Conference Disregards Vote

Disregarding this vote, the miners' delegate conference on November 19, adopted "guiding principles" for the districts in negotiations, and instructed each district "to enter into negotiations with the employers as early as possible."

In the face of this flouting of the membership vote, the Miners' Minority Movement (Left Wing) declared for a policy of making a fight in the districts on questions of hours, conditions and the duration of agreements, asking that no agreement run over one year. It also asked the miners to send a better rank and file delegation to the next conference, instructed to watch officials who obey the constitution only when it suits them. It called for new leadership and asked all workers to support the levy and demand a conference to lay down an embargo on scab coal shipments.

The Miners' Federation clearly had little power to enforce the "guiding principles" of the conference, which principles mentioned wages but not hours. Its abdication of power was sought to be modified by the proviso that—"No district shall enter into final settlement until a further national conference is held to receive reports on all negotiations."

How It Worked Out

How it actually worked out, is seen in the settlements themselves. There are, according to reports from the fields, variations in the length of the district agreements, which run all the way from one to three and even five years.

Wage cuts are general, pre-strike rates being paid only for a few months in districts outside the exporting area. After the few months, wages are cut to the 1921 scale and even lower in some districts. The conference's "guiding principle" of divisions of net profits on the ratio of 87 to the wages and 13 per cent to the owners, went by the board for a ratio of 85 to 15.

Every district has agreed to longer hours, an eight-hour day (which

means nine hours underground) outside the three counties of Notts, Derby and Yorkshire, where the owners enforced only a seven and a half hour day.

But the effect of this longer day is terrible, as it immediately throws out of employment an estimated number of 200,000 miners, who can find no work in other industry and must join the army of half-starved, permanently unemployed, an instrument to aid British capitalism in a general assault on the whole British working class.

British Capitalism Hard Hit

But if the miners' strike has been beaten by betrayal, hunger and government violence, it has none the

less inflicted a terrific loss on British capitalism. This loss was severe enough to have won a victory for the miners, if only they had not been deserted by the other unions through the treachery of the General Council and been crippled by the weakness of their own leaders.

In spite of the scab coal imported into England by the studied strike-breaking of the Amsterdam International, the coal shortage paralyzed many industries. The textile mills practically shut down. Only six blast furnaces out of 147 were producing iron and steel at the end of the strike. Experts state that even up to the First of October, two months before the strike ended, the loss to British industry was about 561,000,000 pounds sterling. If the strike could have gone on longer, the mine owners would have been compelled to yield by other capitalists, and the miners' would have won.

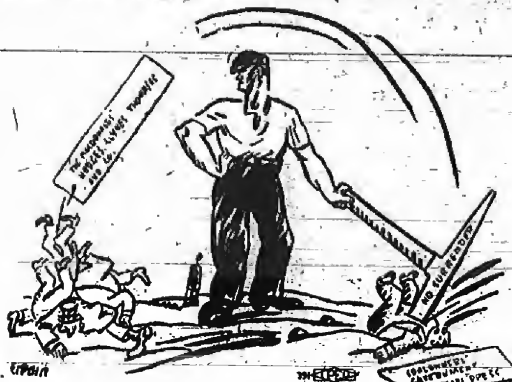
And the strike could have gone on easily enough, had not the General Council deliberately and continuously sabotaged it and isolated the miners from the rest of the working class.

Betrayed by General Council

The General Council was opposed to the general strike in May to aid the miners, and betrayed it at the first opportunity, leaving the miners to fight on alone. Hicks and Purcell, though they had used "left" phrases and deluded many who depended on them to stand against Thomas, went along with the real

in the betrayal, and tried to justify it as a "victory."

Beginning with the refusal of financial aid from the Russian unions in the general strike, the General Council ran the whole gamut of treachery and intrigue to defeat the miners. They waited six months before they called the conference of Trade Union Executives. They "prepared" for it by officially stating that the miners ought to surrender. Then they restricted the discussion at the conference to the question of whether there should be a merely voluntary levy or no levy at all. They would not permit talk of an embargo on (refusal to handle) scab coal, nor a compulsory levy to aid the miners. They finally



THE MINERS' LAST WORD

allowed a voluntary levy of only one penny a day.

Russian Unions' Splendid Support

Compare this "support" to the whole-hearted aid rendered by the left wing and revolutionary unions, both affiliated and unaffiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions. At the time of the conference, the Russian unions alone had sent some \$4,800,000 of the entire amount of \$8,000,000 strike aid the miners' union had received. The Amsterdam International sent about \$100,000 and not one affiliate made a compulsory levy. The German reformist unions wanted 11 per cent interest for a loan. Neither did the rich American Federation of Labor make compulsory levy, or loan any of its millions in its "labor banks" to the British miners. The meagre \$100,000 it did gather was held back until October. And this shameful sum was not gathered until a large delegation came over to get it.

Left wing unions, particularly the Russian unions, gladly made regular levies, as did the I. T. U. unions in Czechoslovakia. Everywhere the left wing tried to shut off coal shipments to England. The French miners' union affiliated with the I. T. U. called a one-day solidarity strike of all miners. Others strove to reduce their output to prevent scab shipping, while the British left wing Minority Movement worked night and day to aid the miners, warning that their defeat would mean a fierce attack on all British unions.

As to the miners' own leaders, Lozovsky, General Secretary of the R. I. L. U., sums up the proper criticism of them as follows:

"1. They have not, from the very beginning, understood the profound, political character of the struggle.

"2. They refused to criticize the treacherous General Council leaders.

"3. They made a united front with leaders, instead of appealing over their heads to the masses.

"4. They refused to bring forward the question of the general strike at the Bournemouth Trade Union Congress, thus saving the skins of those who betrayed the strike from the first day.

"5. They jumped at isolated expressions of Baldwin, at the suggestions of the clergy and others, distracting the attention of the masses from the immediate struggle.

"6. They did not come forward themselves, and prevented others from coming forward on the question of the miners' fight at the Margate Labor conference.

"7. They refused to carry out in practice the decisions of the miners' conference as to the calling out of the safety men."

Cook's View of It

Secretary A. J. Cook of the Miners' Federation, whose unquestioned sincerity mitigates his share of these disastrous errors, but who finally stood out against accepting the government terms, has this to say of the present situation:

"Many of our leaders seemed surprised at the decision of the rank and file in rejecting the government's terms. I am sorry these leaders have not accepted the decision of the rank and file.

"As the conference of delegates made a decision regarding district agreements, I, as secretary and disciplined member, must observe their decision and carry it out.

"The aim of the Miners' Federation is to leave no stone unturned to rebuild its forces, to remove the eight-hour day, to maintain one union and establish a national agreement."

Need Left Wing Leadership

The million British miners would easily have whipped both the mine owners and the government, which clubbed and jailed them and starved their families by cutting off the legally provided poor relief, had they only had real left wing leadership. It is the task of the left wing miners in the Minority Movement to see that this is given in the fight ahead to build the national union and bring it again into life of battle.

The decision to strengthen and make closer the ties of fraternity and mutual aid between the British miners and the miners of the Soviet Union, will do much to rebuild and re-inspire the British miners' union for the struggles looming ahead.

Chauncey Dapaw, who is 93 years old and never did a day's useful labor, is against the five-day week. "Time is too valuable for loafing," he says. "Millitants don't loaf, they spend spare time in left wing work, to put the skids under the Depew class."

Railwaymen Demand Wage Scale of 1920

(Continued from page 1)

ments that drive the worker to complete exhaustion.

Holding Wages Down

In spite of their record-breaking profits, the companies are deliberately carrying out a policy of holding the wages down, granting only a ridiculous raise when forced to act; a policy that has been aided by that anti-labor, anti-strike act known as the Watson-Parker Law.

The Conductors and Trainmen on the Eastern roads asked for a 20 per cent raise and got only seven and a half, while other trades are being held down by the most pretense of a raise such as from one cent to three cents an hour.

It is against this studied treachery of the companies and against the timidity and treachery of the union officials who will not lead the unions in struggle and who "co-operate" with the companies to the injury of the working and wage standard, that revolt is brewing on the ways.

The Shopmen on the C. M. & St. P. railway are the first swallows heralding a period of hot weather for those responsible. In every union local of every craft we railroaders must raise the demand that the unions fight for restoration of the 1920 scale.

The companies cannot plead the old "poverty" stuff. They can afford to pay the 1920 scale from the 100 per cent increase in their profits since 1921.

While the unions' high officials may be unwilling to fight, a persistent and determined drive from be-

low by the members in all sections and crafts can force them to act. Even a determined effort by the rank and file will compel the companies to permit further raises, and with an organized left wing rallying the membership the wage scale can be restored, the companies wiped out, the unorganizational unions into the unions, which must be strengthened still more by amalgamation into one powerful organization.

"Organization does not happen, it is made to happen."

International Notes

WORKING WOMEN'S CONGRESS T HE Amsterdam International (I. F. T. U.) is calling an international congress of working women, to meet July 30, 1927, at an European center not yet decided upon. Reports will be made by German, Belgian and English women upon recruiting among women, upon home sweatshop work and other problems.

American unions affiliated to the I. F. T. U. industrial internationals should participate in the congress and insist upon real results for the benefit of women workers, whose special interests are too much ignored by the trades unions of this and other countries.

OUDEGEEST J. Oudegeest, one of the secretaries of the Amsterdam International, in a recent speech at Karlsruhe, declared that "the door to unity with the Russian unions was open." They needed only "to accept the I. F. T. U. statutes".

In practice, however, things are quite different. The August application of the Russian Miners' Union for admission to the Miners' International of Amsterdam, got a reply laying down all sorts of outrageous demands, the chief complaint being, apparently, that the Russian union had helped the British miners' strike while the Amsterdam unions were scabbing wholesale.

GERMANY A CONFERENCE of all German Trade Union Federations late in October published a declaration pointing out that although there was well over 2,000,000 unemployed, still long hours and much overtime was being practiced. They proposed that the government act to enforce the eight-hour day by law.

The employers' association attacked the proposal, declaring against government "interference in economic matters", saying that the eight-hour day would reduce production, raise prices, increase instead of diminish the number of unemployed and "bring catastrophe to the whole country". As "patriots" they must continue the longer work day.

The Berlin shop councils, which are not real workers' shop councils, but are regulated by law and controlled by the trade union bureaucracy which uses them as organs of class collaboration, held a conference of 322 councils to discuss capitalist rationalization of industry and the legal regulation of the eight-hour day.

The conference adopted resolutions on this point and for wage increases—but as regards increases merely asked arbitration boards "to work in this direction". The opposition delegates pointed out that only by class struggle could the eight-hour day and higher wages be won, and that the bureaucrats' program proposed no struggle whatever. The opposition however, was in a minority.

ENGLAND T HE company union movement in England is a part of the process to "Americanize" the whole European labor movement. That is to say, company unionism where possible and an effort to transform the regular labor unions into company auxiliaries by American methods of class collaboration. The Manchester *Guardian*, known heretofore as an organ of "liberal" thought, has introduced a company union which has no right to strike and must accept arbitration on any issue. The company tries to disguise this move as something nice, but the fact remains that their union workers were forced to quit or accept company unionism.

JAPAN T HE left wing elements of the badly split-up Japanese trade unions, organized in the Higiokai, are working hard for a single All-Japanese Federation of Labor. Broad masses of workers in all the unions respond well to the unity movement.

Last June, a preliminary conference was held and the urge for unity was so strong that the leaders of the conservative federation, the Sodomey, who recently tried to destroy the Workers' and Peasants' Party by withdrawal of their unions, were forced to take part.

But at the conference, the Sodomey leaders sabotaged unity and said that time for unity "had not arrived." They would not co-operate to unite Japanese workers. In August, they created more disruption by expelling five radical locals of 1,000 members from the Tokio street-car union.

This aroused great numbers of unionists in other trades, and a League of Resistance has been formed to fight for the unity of labor. The conservatives in the Sodomey, which has 35,000 members, are clearly trying to gather all reactionary forces to defeat any real unity—which must be on the basis of class struggle. They are approaching other right wing unions now independent, such as the Arsenal Workers (42,000 members), the Sailors' Union (40,000 members) and the Government Employees (12,000 members), while at the same time acting as police informers against the more revolutionary unions.

The united front of reaction, between Sodomey leaders, employers, fascists and police, to prevent unity and class struggle, is very strong. But a real mass movement led by the left wing is growing.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA T HE left wing Czech railway men's union and the German-speaking reformist railway men's union have reached an understanding for joint action to defend the economic interests of the railroad workers. They will carry on a joint campaign to unite all Czech railway workers into one industrial union and will put forward joint slates in the elections.

THE SOVIET UNION A FTER the overthrow of the Czar in March 1917, factory committees were organized in shops and factories—political-economic organizations of the workers. In that period the trade unions began to revive. In March, there were only 24 trade unions with a very small membership. But in June 1917 the membership had climbed up to 1,475,000.

After the November 1917 revolution which established the Soviet Power, the policy of the Russian trade union movement was formulated at the First Congress of the trade unions in January 1918. The congress categorically rejected the capitalist idea of the Mensheviks who advocated so-called "neutrality" of the trade unions, a neutrality which means indifference to the political struggle.

Under conditions of capitalist society, and under the proletarian dictatorship, also, the working class and its trade unions cannot be neutral. The trade unions, therefore, are fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for bringing about a socialist economy.

The First Congress decided for close co-operation with the soviets of workers' deputies, and in the first years of the revolution carried on an enormous work, organizing workers' discipline, mobilizing fighters for the front, organizing food supply, etc. Membership in the trade unions was compulsory and automatic.

In spite of many short-comings in the work of the trade unions during the civil war, they played an important role in solidifying the people's economy. In guaranteeing the victory of the workers' revolution.

By the year of 1920, there were 23 national industrial unions, with a membership of 4,300,000. After the introduction of the New Economic Policy, the trade unions changed the character of their work. While adhering to their former aim—to serve as the basis of the proletarian dictatorship and as a school of Communism, the trade unions had to consider the changed relations between the workers and the administration of government industry, and the re-appearance of the class struggle against the private, leased and concession industry.



The trade unions had to arrange collective agreements, revive the "conflict commissions", organize mutual aid and strike funds. This, of course, did not mean that they refused to help organize industry and trade. The best proof of the importance of the trade unions in that work was the aid in reconstruction and development of industry in 1924 by special conferences and commissions.

The change to individual and voluntary membership and collection of dues after the Fifth Congress of the trade unions in 1922, gave the possibility to the membership of wider activity and involvement to the unions.

Early in 1926 the membership of the Soviet trade unions was over 8,000,000. (Since this article was written the Seventh Congress of the Soviet trade unions in December, 1926, reported 9,270,000 members.—Ed.) The unions are now strong organizationally, materially and culturally. Further advances will be made as the general problems of industry are solved, the rebuilding and re-equipment of machinery, the necessity of increasing the volume of production, of bettering the quality and cheapening the price of products.

Only by active participation of the trade unions and their membership with these problems be solved.—V. SALUTOV.

POLAND S INCE the Pilsudski revolution, the Polish workers have suffered a continuous attack on their conditions. Real wages in 1925 were only 60 per cent of pre-war. In the first six months of 1926, wages were out an average of 28 per cent. Polish labor is the lowest paid in Europe.

Official figures say that eight zlotys (about \$1.12) is the least wage on which life can be sustained. Yet most skilled workers are getting only five zlotys, or 70 cents, while unskilled labor gets only two or three zlotys, or from 28 to 42 cents a day. The cost of living rises steadily and Polish labor suffers real hunger.

This broke the illusion that Pilsudski's fascist regime would aid the workers, and a wave of strikes began. Unfortunately, the left wing of the trade unions was weak, and the right wing reactionaries among the trade union leaders, who claim to be "socialists", and are indeed part of the socialist party, exerted all efforts to prevent strikes, particularly to prevent strikes involving whole industries.

The result was that although some strikes won small increases, such increases were by no means equal to the concurrent raise in the cost of living, and some strikes were defeated. Where militant unions struck, the right wing even aided the police in strike breaking. Although the railwaymen voted 90 per cent for strike, the reactionaries stalled it off and killed it. The government, which refuses to raise railway workers' pay, raised the pay of soldiers.

The Left-Wing, which grew in influence from this treachery, has issued a program for wage raises to meet the cost of living, for defense of the eight-hour day, against rationalization of industry (scientific management) at the workers' expense, the right to organize and strike, government relief and freedom from rent for unemployed, and has issued slogans for a joint campaign of all unions and a general strike for the chief demands. Release is also demanded for the thousands of workers imprisoned for labor activity.

The Christian and nationalist trade unions are losing members to the regular trade unions. In these, however, the conservative opposition to any struggle has caused a conflict not only between the distinctly revolutionary left wing and the reactionary officials, but also brought about a division in the socialist party trade unionists, a left wing arising in the party ranks which demands struggle by the unions against the employers.

The Left-Wing now controls the Leather Workers, the Chemical Workers, the Glass Workers, and important branches of the Railway men, Miners, Textile Workers, Metal Workers, Food Workers and Building Workers. It also has a majority in the independent "Free Trade Unions."

New York is far from China, but we christen Morris Sigman the Wu Pei-fu of the needle trades.

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Science and Invention

BY ROGER COMPTON

(This column will be devoted to information upon the technical advance of industry and its relation to the labor movement. Any questions of a general interest on science or engineering will be gladly answered. Address—Roger Compton, care of the Editor of LABOR UNITY.)

IT was a series of invention at the end of the 18th century which inaugurated the present industrial era. Inventors have always had an important influence on the course of social evolution but never before to such a far-reaching extent as those that began the Industrial Revolution. For their work marked the end of the handicraft system and the beginning of the machine method of production.

They began the application of steam power to production, magnifying to tremendous proportions the work of man, building an industrial society which was destined to remodel the entire world and modifying all human relationships. THE social effect of inventions and discoveries is not less today. But instead of the sporadic inventions of isolated individuals of the time of Hargreaves and Watt, we have to-day the organized efforts of scores of thousands of research workers, scientists and engineers. In every laboratory, in every center of industry they are working, to extend the influence of the machine, to find new sources of power, to modify the materials and methods of production.

Every day brings discoveries of new materials for manufacture, new applications of power, new processes of production. Alloys are used in place of simple metals, synthetic materials in place of natural products of the field and forest, complex tools and machines take the place of hand labor. The work of the world is rapidly concentrating in the factory.

NEW industries and new trades are built up and old trades destroyed. There is a continual change and flux in our economic life.

Every change in the technique of industry has a direct effect on the industrial workers. Old trades disappear and trade unions disappear with them. Unions of skilled craftsmen are replaced by organization of machine tenders. More and more the skilled workers are used only in the building of machines and equipment for production, while their maintenance and the work of production is carried on by unskilled machine tenders. Even in the building of the machine, large scale production brings on the subdivision of work into simple tasks done by the unskilled.

THE skilled craftsmen are thus on an insecure basis and are compelled more and more to throw in their lot with the unskilled. Only together can they reap the rewards of the increase in productivity wrought by the machine, instead of being its slaves.

Labor Unity is not an artificial issue, but an outgrowth of the machine age. It will grow with the technical advance of industry and must inevitably sweep away all opposition. Labor must be unified and organized not to destroy the factory, but to reap its benefits.

Feathers

BY C. A. MOSELEY

Mussolini says he wants peace in the Adriatic. "Benito Beckerman" says he wants peace in the Amalgamated. Look out for war.

IT is reported in mining circles that Frank Farrington has told in a good supply of coal for the win-

BY NIGHT

By Jim Waters

By night,
The skeleton of a sky-scraper
Weaves a cross-word puzzle
Against the night-glow of a great city;
Ten stories check their identity
In amber squares above the sky-line.
I ponder the structure of this great building;
Its solidity of form, its unity of purpose,
As it flaunts its steel ribs unflinchingly
In the face of a March gale;
Welded in the ten amber squares
I spell the secret of its strength.

SOLIDARITY

By night,
The skeleton of a great sky-scraper
Flaunts the secret of strength
Into the faces of the workers.

KITCHEN HELP

BY KATE OWENS

"PEACE on earth, good will to man," ring out the Christmas bells. And the bosses have used this sentiment for 1900 years to cover the ugly truth of their robbery of the workers. Unfortunately, they have succeeded fairly well as far, with the convenient aid of misleaders of the workers who keep what few workers are organized divided into fragmentary craft unions.

As an example of this, I want to tell about one of the big Jewish restaurants of New York, one that is typical of all "unionized" houses. In this shop are employed eleven waiters and waitresses, four "countermen" (who make the salads, coffee, sandwiches, etc.), four dishwashers, two "bus" boys, and two cooks. Altogether, five different crafts.

Of all these, only the waiters (men and women) are organized. But the A. F. of L. Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International card is prominently displayed in the window. It's a typical "union" house; union front and scab back!

Over the almy sink, the dishwashers stoop for as long as 12 hours a day. At certain times, one of them is allowed to lift his feet from the wet saw-dust, which is used on the floor—as a garbage catcher, and to stumble down the dark steps to the cellar, where he "rests" on a wooden box by the stairs, his back hunched over as he peels potatoes.

The Twelve-Hour Day

Are the cooks, who are more highly skilled workers, any better off? On the contrary! Their hours are no different—from 9 A. M. to 9 P. M. the second cook works; the same hours as the head dishwasher. His pay envelope brings maybe \$10 or \$15 more, than the dishwashers', and he averages \$35 a week.

But the cook's responsibilities are enough to drive most normal persons insane. I have seen our own, hard-boiled chef so frenzied with the number of orders hurled at him by hawking waiters that it seemed as if one more word would make him a raving maniac. To say that, the life of the kitchen help is "hell" is to put it mildly.

The torture of the workers behind the scenes is kept a secret, however, by the union card in the window, testifying to a sort of conspiracy between the organized

workers and the boss. Union waiters and waitresses usually work short shifts, often only four hours a day. And with wages and tips make enough to live comparatively well. It is safe to say that a waiter can make as much as a cook in scarcely more than one-third the time, and with much less expenditure of energy.

Enter: Santa Claus

On such a scene, enter Santa Claus, in the person of a jovial waiter. What noble impulse gives him such a benevolent smile?

"We must take up a collection to give the kitchen help a Christmas present!"

Ah, that is it. The lowly come into their own at Christmas. They get crumbs from the tables instead of from the sinks. Waiters and waitresses decide to give three dollars each to buy something for their less fortunate—unorganized—fellow workers. And the boss lets them have pie instead of rice pudding!

But when the question of organizing the unorganized comes up in the union, the same noble fellow who proposes the Christmas present says:

"It can't be done! If the cooks and dishwashers would get the union seal it would kill our union, because it would put the boss out of business."

Thus, one craft considers itself saved by means of the others' damnation.

What a temporary salvation this is, these organized waiters little realize. Sooner or later, the boss will be put out of business. Not because he has been forced to pay higher wages to the kitchen help, however. No. The extinction of the restaurants, and with them of the craft of waiters as well, is coming inevitably with the mushroom growth of automats, cafeterias and the chain of self-service houses.

The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance will lose even its name unless it accomplishes the organization of other crafts in the food serving industry, beside the waiters.

At a not distant Christmas, the waiters and waitresses will find themselves looking for jobs as dishwashers and meat carvers. Long hours, low wages and no union may be their lot, without they awake to the situation and stop neglecting the organization of the unorganized kitchen help while they still have a union to bring them all into.

ter and will not be dependent on charity during the cold weather.

HERE'S something rich. The International Labor News Service, under a Chicago date line (which means Joe Wise), sends out an article about the British labor movement in which it is stated that the South Wales miners "are likely to break away from the Miners'

Federation and form an organization of their own under the leadership of Frank Hodges." The next line we expect from such "reliable sources" is news that the T. U. E. L. has elected Mattie Woll its secretary.

FUNNY how old-fashioned people are. A chemical engineers' journal laments it in this fashion:

Book Review

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY, A Study in American Imperialism; By Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman. Published by D. W. Huebsch and the Viking Press, New York City, 335 pages, \$2.50. Also in paper covered edition at 50 cents.

The invasion of the republic of Nicaragua by U. S. marines to disarm the constitutional government of President Somoza and help American imperialism's usurping tool, Adolfo Diaz, clinging to power against the will of the Nicaraguan people, should attract attention to this excellent book.

"Foreign policies," ex-Secretary of State Hughes is quoted as saying, "are not built upon abstractions. They are the result of practical conceptions of national interest arising from some immediate exigency or standing out vividly in historical perspective." Statesmen who carry the burden of empire do not for a moment lose sight of imperial purposes and requirements.

We may at the start then, put aside as rubbish the newspaper publicity that the United States is so horrified at the sight of civil war in Nicaragua that it lands marines and puts the legal government out of business just for the sake of "blessed peace."

As a key of understanding, we had better take the statement of the authors of "Dollar Diplomacy" that "from the day on which the republic of the United States was established, its foreign policy has paralleled its economic expansion."

The book gives a history of this expansion since the middle of the eighteenth century, with many illuminating examples and a few good charts.

Under a general caption "American Imperialism in Action," there is presented a panorama, from economic penetration, the "opening wedge of imperialism," through (a) the system of spheres of influence exemplified by "our" Chinese policy; (b) political "regulation" in Hawaii, Mexico and Panama; (c) armed intervention as in Haiti and now in Nicaragua; (d) conquest and purchase as was done with the Philippines, and finally an excellent chapter on America and the war debts.

Throughout, the authors demonstrate by facts and figures rather than by expressed opinion, how closely the flag follows the dollar and the marines follow the flag.

In the appendices of the book are given parts or all of twelve important state documents. It has a well-selected bibliography and a number of interesting original charts, among which might be mentioned particularly those showing the Caribbean interests, U. S. investments in the western hemisphere, and a graphic presentation of the European war debts to the United States.

The information in this analysis of American imperialism is such as every worker needs to possess, and "Dollar Diplomacy" is recommended for every worker's bookshelf.

—GEORGE BROWN.

Subscribe

"People have a prejudice against the use of poison gas in warfare. They have become so accustomed to being killed by shot and shell that they resent any innovation."

Coolidge insists on "protecting" the Filipinos. Reminds us of Sigmund offering to "save" the clock-makers.